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ILLINOIS UNIV AT URBANA DEPT OF PSYCHOLOGY  
STEREOTYPING AMONG HISPANIC AND MAINSTREAM NAVY RECRUITS. (U)  
APR 82 H C TRIANDIS, G MARIN, H BETANCOURT

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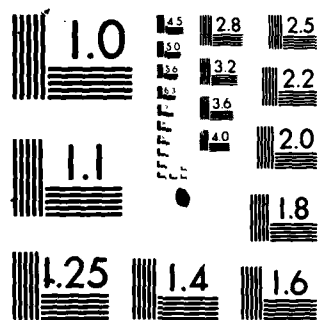
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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER T.R. No. ONR-13	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. <b>AD-A114901</b>	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Stereotyping among Hispanic and Mainstream Navy Recruits		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Interim
7. AUTHOR(s) Harry C. Triandis, Judith Lisansky Gerardo Marin, Bernadette Setiadi, Hector Betancourt, Bei-Hung Chang		6. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N 00014-80-C-0407
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Department of Psychology University of Illinois 603 E. Daniel, Champaign, IL 61820		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS NR 170-906
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Organizational Effectiveness Research Programs Office of Naval Research (Code 442) Arlington, VA 22217		12. REPORT DATE April, 1982
MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office)		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 25
		14. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

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DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

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MAY 27 1982

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

Stereotypes, Hispanics, Autostereotypes, Heterostereotypes,  
Ethnocentric Bias

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

The Mainstream and Hispanic Navy recruits' perceptions of Black-,  
White-, Puerto Rican-, Cuban-, and Mexican-Americans and Chicanos were  
examined. The autostereotypes of both Mainstream and Hispanics were quite

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positive. The heterostereotypes--of the Mainstream sample perceiving Hispanics and the Hispanics perceiving the Mainstream--were also positive, though not quite as much as the autostereotypes. There was considerable convergence between the auto- and the heterostereotypes. The auto- and heterostereotypes of the Mainstream were clearer, that is, respondents showed much agreement among themselves that a particular attribute is linked to a particular stimulus group. The corresponding auto- and heterostereotypes of the Hispanics were less clear. There was clear evidence of ethnocentric bias, that is, each group saw itself as "very good" and the other groups as only "good." All stereotypes were of low intensity.

Contrasts between these data and what is reported in the literature suggests that Hispanic Navy recruits differ from the kinds of Hispanics described in the literature. Hispanic Navy recruits have a more positive autostereotype and also view the Mainstream more favorably than has been reported in the literature.

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this paper. Thus we turn directly here to a review of the literature about stereotyping among Hispanics and Anglos.

In terms of autostereotyping among Hispanics a frequently quoted study is the one conducted by Dworkin (1965) in the Los Angeles area among Mexican Americans. Respondents (divided between foreign born and those born in the United States) were asked to provide self-descriptions and to rank them as to degree of appropriateness. The group born in Mexico saw themselves (in order of subjects' rankings) as: proud; religious; familistic; athletic; gregarious; friendly; happy; field workers; racially tolerant; short, fat and dark; practical; and well-adjusted. In contrast, the U.S. born group saw themselves as: emotional; unscientific; authoritarian; materialistic; old-fashioned; poor and of low social class; uneducated or poorly educated; short, fat and dark; having little care for education; mistrusted; proud; lazy, indifferent and unambitious. One conclusion of this study was that living in the United States had contributed to a more negative autostereotype for Mexican Americans.

The Grebler, Moore and Guzman (1970) study of Mexican Americans in San Antonio and Los Angeles also elicited group descriptors. They found the most agreement on the following four traits for an autostereotype of Mexican Americans: (1) very emotional, (2) strong family ties, (3) low on materialism, and (4) hard workers. More recent studies (e.g., Bernat & Balch, 1979; Peterson & Ramirez, 1971; Montenegro, 1976) have shown that Mexican Americans usually assign negative traits to their own group although a recent study (Lampe, 1975) has found that these negative autostereotype may be due to the respondent's own self-identification with a given ethnic label. When 8th grade Mexican Americans in Texas were asked to rank order different ethnic groups, Lampe found that those who identified themselves as Chicanos ranked their group the highest although the majority of respondents preferred

to be called Mexican Americans. Respondents also showed a marked preference for the ethnic label with which they identified themselves. A more recent study (Buriel & Vasquez, in press) has shown that First and Second generation Mexican Americans perceive themselves in a more positive way than Third generation respondents who in turn agree with the somewhat negative stereotype held by Anglos.

Data on the perceptions Anglos have of Hispanics is not as plentiful as one could expect from the extent of the literature on stereotypes. For the most part, the available studies tend to show fairly negative perceptions of Hispanics by Anglos (e.g., Bernat & Balch, 1979; Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Guichard & Connolly, 1977; Marín, Note 1) although a few studies have identified some positive traits (e.g., Fairchild & Cozens, 1981; Humphrey, 1945; Marín, Note 1). Data from very recent studies show for example, that Mexican Americans are considered lazy, cruel and pugnacious (Guichard & Connolly, 1977); ignorant and cruel (Fairchild & Cozens, 1981) or poor, aggressive, lazy, hard-working and familistic (Marín, Note 1). Data on the perceptions of other Hispanic groups is even less frequent than for Mexican Americans although two recent studies with Anglo college students in Los Angeles have shown that Hispanics in general are perceived as talkative and tradition-loving (Fairchild & Cozens, 1981), and as aggressive, poor, friendly, familistic, hardworking, religious and cultured (Marín, Note 1).

Writers on Mexican American perceptions of Anglo society tend to concur that Anglos are generally perceived rather negatively. Cross and Maldonado (1971) while summarizing the literature maintain that the Mexican American sees the Anglo as unsympathetic, aggressive, selfish, cold and demanding. Simmons' (1961) work which specifically focused on Mexican American stereotypes of Anglos found that on the positive side, Anglos were seen as having initiative, ambition and industriousness. More negatively, he found that

Anglos were perceived as cold, unkind, mercenary, exploitative, stolid, phlegmatic, cold-hearted and distant. Similar descriptions have been found by other researchers (e.g., Clark, 1959; Dworkin, 1965; Madsen, 1973; Ulibarri, 1970) although a recent study (Rudolph, 1972) has found that bi-ethnic individuals (with one parent Anglo and one Hispanic) provided neutral ratings for Anglos and for Hispanics.

Dworkin (1965) while comparing the stereotypes of Anglos held by U.S. born Mexican Americans and by those born in Mexico, found that foreign born Mexican Americans listed the following traits (in order of frequency) for Anglos: Progressive; democratic; proud; friendly; proper and respectable; tall, thin and light complexioned; hard-working; clean and neat; education minded; religious; individualistic; and materialistic. In contrast, U.S. born Mexican Americans saw Anglos as: education minded; materialistic; tall, thin and light complexioned; scientific; active in own community; prejudiced; snobbish; having little family loyalty; hypocritical; tense, anxious and neurotic; conformists and puritanical. More positive attitudes toward Anglo society are suggested in the work of Grebler et al. (1970) and Lampe (1975).

There is relatively little information in the literature on how Puerto Ricans see Anglo society, but the information generally seems to suggest an ambivalent attitude. Negative attitudes, such as seeing New Yorkers as "impersonal, secular and materialistic" (Fitzpatrick, 1971), are also discussed by Wagenheim (1972) and Nieves-Falcón (1980). Landy (1959) and Mintz (1966) among others however, discuss a high degree of tolerance in Puerto Rican culture for those different from the in-group.

Portes (1969), Rogg (1974), and Gil (Note 2) emphasize the highly positive attitude of Cubans toward Anglos and Anglo society. Nevertheless, Portes, Parker and Cobas (1980), in a longitudinal study of Cuban and

Mexican American attitudes, found that new arrivals showed a basically favorable attitude toward U.S. society but that three years later these same people were much more critical, particularly with respect to perceived discrimination against their own group.

### Method

#### Subjects

Seventy-three Hispanics and 81 Mainstream recruits responded to the questionnaire while being classified into Navy jobs, as part of a larger study of their perceptions of the social environment. In each of the three Navy recruit stations (Florida, California, and Illinois) when a Spanish-surname recruit was to be classified, the classification officer checked the recruit's self-identification on an application form on which "Hispanic" was one of the ways in which the applicant could describe himself. If the Spanish-surname recruit had selected the "Hispanic" self-identification label, he was asked to complete the questionnaire. At that time another recruit (with a non-Spanish surname) was randomly selected and given the same questionnaire. These other recruits are here referred to as "Mainstream" and will include both whites and blacks as well as Hispanics who did not identify themselves as "Hispanic."

#### Instrument

Six stimulus persons were presented together with 15 attributes per stimulus. The stimulus persons were in the form of "Black-Americans are..." and also included White-Americans, Puerto-Rican-Americans, Cuban-Americans, Chicanos and Mexican-Americans. The 15 attributes were uneducated, educated, family oriented, friendly, unfriendly, competitive, cooperative, dependent, independent, unambitious, ambitious, lazy, hardworking, ethical and unethical. These traits were selected in a pre-test where Anglo and Hispanic college students were asked to list those attributes/adjectives they considered most



important in describing people in general, their own group and the other ethnic group. The 15 traits used in this study were those most frequently mentioned by the pre-test subjects.

The subjects were asked to assign a number between 1 (never) and 10 (always) to characterize the extent to which the stimulus persons had the particular attribute. Thus, for instance, "Chicanos are educated" could be responded with 1 (never), 2 (almost never), 3 (seldom), 4 (sometimes), 5 (probably not), 6 (probably yes), 7 (more often than not), 8 (usually), 9 (almost always) or 10 (always).

### Analyses

Since the semantic differential has been used widely in research on stereotypes, a methodological interest of this study was to check the adequacy of the assumption that bipolar adjectives, such as those used in the semantic differential, are mirror images of each other, as is tacitly assumed when this instrument is used. To test the adequacy of this assumption we compared the percentages of the responses to a particular stimulus that were on the high side on one pole and the low side on the opposite attribute (e.g. the percent of responses in categories 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 on educated with the percent in categories 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 on uneducated).

Another aspect of data analysis included a factor analysis of the 15 x 15 intercorrelation matrices of attributes, separately for each stimulus and sample; a MANOVA to see if the independent variables (Mainstream/Hispanics, stimulus persons and their interactions) accounted for significant amounts of variance on the 15 dependent variables; and chi-squares comparing the responses of the Hispanics and Mainstream recruits on each attribute for each of the stimuli. Finally, we computed the percentages of the subjects who responded with categories 6 to 10 to each attribute when describing each stimulus person.

## Results

### Methodological Study: Are the Bipolar Scales Really Bipolar?

If bipolar scales are really bipolar, as is assumed when the semantic differential is used in stereotype studies, the percentages of responses to an adjective such as educated, in categories 6 to 10 should be the same as the percentages on the opposite adjective (uneducated) in categories 1 to 5 for the same stimulus.

In our analysis, we considered a discrepancy of more than 10 percent as a serious distortion. Given our data, we had a total of 84 opportunities to check the bipolarity assumption. Of these, 54 showed a distortion of more than 10 percent. For the traits cooperative-competitive the distortion was very large. For example, the Mainstream respondents considered Black Americans "not competitive" 13.5% of the time, and "cooperative" 50.0% of the time, a difference of 36.5%. Another way to state the same thing is that this sample considered black Americans "not cooperative" 50% of the time and competitive 86.5% of the time. A cooperative-competitive scale of the semantic differential appears then to be totally inadequate for stereotype research, since large distortions occurred on 5 of the 6 stimulus persons. Only the Cubans did not produce this type of distortion. However, we know that there were almost no Cubans in our Hispanic sample and also that the percentages for Cubans were very close to 50%. The other stimulus persons generated substantial distortions, of up to 63.1%. The latter figure was obtained for the stimulus "White Americans," that was seen as "not cooperative" 24.6% of the time and as "competitive" 87.7% of the time by the Mainstream sample.

In terms of the other pairs of traits, we found that Educated-uneducated produced 5 out of 12 distortions larger than the 10% criterion, ranging from 10.9 to 16.7%. Friendly-unfriendly produced 7 out of 12 distortions, ranging up to 19.4%. Dependent-independent produced 5 out of 12, ranging

up to 22.4 percent; ambitious-unambitious produced 9 out of 12 distortions, ranging up to 22.3%; lazy-hardworking produced 7 out of 12 distortions ranging up to 18.6%. Thus, in general, there is too much distortion to make the assumption of bipolarity defensible in stereotype research.

In other words, we have found that there is enough distortion to justify the separate use of each of the adjectives, as we have done in this study. Granted, this requires twice as many judgments from the subjects, but the judgments are unipolar and easy to make, and the pattern of answers is of high quality.

### Stereotype Content

The best way to describe the content of stereotypes is to utilize factor structures in conjunction with the response distributions and the percentages of a sample giving responses in the 6 to 10 range to a particular stimulus (see Table 1 for factor analysis).

Autostereotypes. The Mainstream autostereotype is assumed to be reflected in the stereotype ascribed to "White Americans," by our non-Hispanic respondents, although two of our so-called Mainstream subjects were Black. The first factor was summarized by the label Well Socialized, and included the scales Educated (92%), Family Oriented (82%), Friendly (81%), Competitive (88%), Cooperative (75%), Ambitious (65%) and Dependent (36%). In all probability the high loading on Dependent is due to a chance fluctuation and should be ignored. The second factor was labeled Go-getting and was characterized by high loadings on Educated (92%), Cooperative (75%), Independent (78%), Ambitious (65%), and negative loadings on Uneducated (11%), Unambitious (20%) and Lazy (23%). The third factor was labeled Calculating and the autostereotype is that White Americans are low on that attribute, since they are low on Unfriendly (12%), though high on Competitive (88%), low on Unambitious (20%), and the negative loadings on Friendly (81%) and

Ethical (77%) are consistent with that interpretation. With four out of five loadings and percentages suggesting the low value of this factor, it may well be that the loading on Competitive is high due to chance factors and should be ignored. In sum, it appears that the autostereotype of the Mainstream respondents includes being Well Socialized, Go-getting and not Calculating.

We know that most of our Hispanic sample is of Mexican descent, with the second most important ancestry being Puerto Ricans. Thus, examining the autostereotypes of Hispanics can best be done by an examination of their reactions to the stimulus persons "Mexican-American" and "Puerto-Rican-American." Mexican Americans are viewed by Hispanics as Well Socialized, with substantial percentages who are Educated (64%), Family Oriented (79%), Friendly (74%), Competitive (67%), Cooperative (69%), Ambitious (73%), and Ethical (70%). But, they are also not Backward, in that they are not Uneducated (20%), Independent (47%), Lazy (17%), or Unethical (14%). Finally, they are not Undersocialized, since they are not Unfriendly (13%), Dependent (38%), and Unambitious (17%). The reaction of the Hispanics to the Puerto-Rican Americans is somewhat similar. They are Well Socialized, since they are Educated (61%), Competitive (52%), Cooperative (66%), Independent (52%), Ambitious (64%), Hardworking (71%), and Ethical (62%). They are not Anti-Social, since they are not Unfriendly (25%), Unambitious (23%), Lazy (20%) or Unethical (15%). But they tend to be perceived as Uneducated (37%), Family Oriented (75%), Friendly (71%), and Cooperative (66%), so they may be characterized as Socially Oriented.

Heterostereotypes. The best estimate of the heterostereotype of the Mainstream respondents concerning Hispanics may be obtained by considering the average response of the Mainstream to the four Hispanic stimuli. In all cases we find a Well Socialized factor consisting of such attributes as

Educated (avg. 45%), Friendly (avg. 53%), Ambitious (avg. 51%) and Hard-working (avg. 54%). In general there is considerable consistency in the reactions to the four stimulus persons, with the exception of Hardworking where the Puerto Rican and Cuban stereotypes are higher (62% and 58% respectively) than the Chicano (44%) and Mexican (53%).

For three of the four Hispanic stimulus persons we find a not Anti-Social factor with Unfriendly and Unethical having high loadings. The Mainstream responses to Unfriendly tend to be low, ranging from 27% for Puerto Ricans to 39% for Cubans. The same is true for responses to Unethical where they range from 21% for Puerto Ricans to 30% for Chicanos.

Two Hispanic factors suggest being Underprivileged with loadings on Uneducated and Ethical. The Mainstream percentages for these two attributes were around 45% and 54% suggesting the perception of substantial under-privilege.

The Puerto Ricans were also seen as Go-getting [Ambitious (51%) and not Lazy (26%)] by the Mainstream respondents. The Cubans were seen as Undersocialized: Uneducated (42%) and Dependent (48%); and the Chicanos were seen as Good Citizens: Ethical (51%) and Dependent (42%).

The Hispanic heterostereotypes of the Mainstream can be summarized by the labels Enlightened, with such attributes as Educated (88%) and Ethical (51%), Unethical while Friendly, because they are Competitive (79%), and tend to be Unethical (22%), but are nevertheless Friendly (69%) and Cooperative (77%). Finally, they are high on the Protestant Ethic, since they are seen as Independent (61%) and Hardworking (65%).

Black Americans are seen by the Mainstream as Good Citizens, with high loadings on Ethical (51%) and low loadings on Uneducated (36%) and Lazy (38%), Well Socialized with high loadings on Friendly (60%) and Cooperative (50%) and not Criminal with loadings on Unfriendly (24%) and Unethical

(32%). The Hispanics perceived Black Americans as Well Socialized, with loadings on Educated (69%) and Hardworking (54%) not Backward, with loadings on Unambitious (33%), Lazy (30%), and Unethical (28%), and not Unfriendly (18%).

#### Uniformity of Stereotypes

High uniformity or clarity of the stereotype can be inferred if most of the percentages in the 6 to 10 category are in the 0 to 25%, or 75% to 100% range. Low uniformity is implied when these percentages are in the 25% to 75% range.

The autostereotype of the Mainstream respondents is quite uniform. Nevertheless, inspection of the percentages presented above shows that the autostereotype of the Hispanics is not uniform. The heterostereotype that the Mainstream has of Hispanics is also not uniform; the heterostereotype that the Hispanics have of the Mainstream is reasonably uniform. Finally, the heterostereotypes that Mainstream and Hispanics have of Black Americans are not uniform.

#### Direction of the Stereotypes

The autostereotypes are extremely favorable. The heterostereotypes are also favorable, but less so. Comparisons of the frequencies of assignment of favorable and unfavorable traits to the autostereotype or the heterostereotype by the Mainstream and Hispanic samples show that there are 16 instances out of 88 comparisons when the level of favorability differs at a statistically significant level. Since we used the  $p < .05$  level we would expect four comparisons to be significant by chance. Thus, 16 is a substantially greater number than expected by chance. Some of the comparisons are significantly different at the .01 level. In sum there is little doubt that the samples do differ some of the time.

Of the 16 differences 14 can be classified into a 2 by 2 table, where an outgroup is judged on a favorable or unfavorable trait, or an ingroup is judged on a favorable or unfavorable trait. All of these fit the following generalization: When the trait is favorable ingroups are seen as having more of it, and outgroups as having less of it; when the trait is unfavorable, ingroups are seen as having less of it and outgroups as having more of it. Thus, on 14 out of 14 occasions where we can classify the data as mentioned above, there is an ethnocentric bias (own group is better, other groups are not as good). The two cases that could not be classified were the reactions of the samples to Blacks. Here presumably both samples are looking at an outgroup. But there is a statistically significant difference, with the Mainstream respondents saying that Blacks are Uneducated (36%) to a greater extent than do the Hispanics (18%), ( $p < .03$ ); and the Mainstream saying that Blacks are Family Oriented (82%) while the Hispanics give this response only 61% of the time ( $p < .02$ ).

Table 2 presents further discrepancies on the frequency with which different traits were assigned to the different groups. A more detailed examination of these differences may be useful. For example, the chi-square ( $\chi^2(9)=24$ ,  $p < .004$ ) for Ethical, for the stimulus White Americans, was significant with the Mainstream mean at 7.2, the modal response at 7 (28%) and the modal Hispanic at 3 (27.8%) with the mean at 5.1. Obviously the difference between "probably not" or "seldom" and "more often than not" is qualitatively very substantial.

Another large chi-square (24.1 with 9 df,  $p < .004$ ) was on Unfriendly for the stimulus Mexican Americans. The Mainstream mean was 5.2 (probably not) while the Hispanic mean was 3.2 (seldom) with the mode of both samples at 3. Four additional chi-squares were significant, but they did not reflect such large differences.

### Intensity of the Stereotypes

A good measure of intensity is the number of responses in categories 1 and 9. Utilizing a criterion of more than 10% of the responses in these categories we find intensive stereotypes for only the following cases: Blacks are Family Oriented (Mainstream give a response of 9, 11% of the time); Blacks are Competitive (Mainstream respondents give a score of 9, 12% and Hispanics 16% of the time); Puerto Ricans are Family Oriented (Mainstream gives a 9, 11% of the time); finally, Mexican Americans are Family Oriented which is given a 9 by both the Mainstream respondents (10%) and the Hispanics (15%).

It should be remembered that if the subjects had responded entirely at random, with 10 categories of responses there should be about 10 percent of the responses in each category, hence the criterion should have been met in all occasions, or 180 times. Since only on 6 out of 180 occasions did we reach criterion it is clear that the data differ drastically from randomness. It is also interesting that there are no cases where the criterion is reached for category 1 (Never).

### The Similarity of Autostereotypes and Heterostereotypes

As mentioned earlier such similarity may imply validity. Thus, if the Hispanics indicate that they themselves are Family Oriented 74% of the time and the Mainstream see the Hispanics as Family Oriented 75% of the time, such convergence would suggest that indeed the Hispanics may be Family Oriented.

With four Hispanic and one Mainstream stimulus persons and 15 attributes there are 75 opportunities to check the convergence of auto- and hetero-stereotypes. We find that on 50 out of 60 (83%) cases the Hispanic auto-stereotype is not significantly different from the Mainstream perceptions of Hispanics; also on 12 out of 15 cases (80%) the Mainstream autostereotype does not differ from the way Hispanics perceive the Mainstream. Thus there is considerable evidence of convergence of auto- and heterostereotypes.



### Discussion

The quality of the data was good, and it was desirable that we did use each adjective and its opposite as separate, unipolar judgments, since we have demonstrated that major distortions of bipolarity occur when stimulus persons are judged on bipolar scales.

The autostereotype of the Mainstream sample was highly complementary: they saw themselves as Well Socialized, Go-getting and as not Calculating. It was uniform and clear, though not especially intense. The autostereotype of the Hispanics was less clear, and though favorable (Well Socialized, not Backward and not Undersocialized or not Anti-Social and Socially Oriented) it suggested somewhat more defensiveness (not Backward, not Undersocialized, not Anti-Social) than was the case with the Mainstream sample. The lack of clarity may reflect the geographic (Puerto Rico-Cuba-Mexico-Central and South America) heterogeneity of the Hispanics or the fact that some of them are more acculturated than others, or both.

The heterostereotypes of Hispanics as seen by the Mainstream sample were generally positive, though not very clear. The heterostereotypes of the Mainstream as seen by the Hispanics are also positive, though the one factor which suggests Oppression is clearly suggestive of ambivalence. This heterostereotype was quite clear.

Support can be found for the theoretical arguments of Campbell (1967) and Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) concerning the way stereotypes emerge. It was argued that when a group perceives itself to be very high on some trait it will see other groups as low. As can be seen for the Family Oriented attribute, the Hispanics are more likely to see other groups as not so high on that attribute. For example, when looking at Blacks, the Mainstream respondents assign this trait 82% of the time, but the Hispanics only 61% of the time ( $p < .02$ ); similarly while the Mainstream sees White Americans as

having this attribute 82% of the time the Hispanics see it only 63% of the time ( $p < .02$ ). At the same time they see themselves as having this trait 74% of the time.

The Hispanic perception of the Mainstream as Unethical may reflect the prejudice that Hispanics experience in interaction with the Mainstream. It would appear that the stereotypes are favorable, but memories of past and present discrimination linger on.

The stereotypes are not particularly intensive. In fact, there were no cases where category 1 was used more than 10% of the time. Thus, very few people indicated that some trait, no matter how good, is never associated with one of the stimulus persons.

Finally, the convergence of auto- and hetero-stereotypes suggests that some of the stereotypes may be valid. However, caution is needed in adopting this interpretation since it is based on the non-significance of the difference between Mainstream and Hispanic stereotype judgments. Perhaps if we had used larger samples, rather than the approximately 80 from each group, we could have obtained a larger number of significant results.

With respect to the particular Navy recruit samples we have studied in this case it is useful to note the disagreements with the studies by Dworkin (1965) and others who find Mexican-Americans and Hispanics as having negative autostereotypes. Our Navy sample certainly did not. This is consistent with the argument that the data found in most studies with Hispanics may be specific to lower class, rural, poorly educated Hispanics that have made up most of the samples or informants of the majority of studies found in the literature. The negative autostereotypes are certainly not found with Latin Americans (e.g., Salazar & Marín, 1977), they were not found here among better educated Hispanics, and they were absent among High School Mexican Americans (Buriel & Vasquez, in press).

Our Navy recruits also seem to have a more positive heterostereotype of the Mainstream than that reported by Rubel (1970), Ulibarri (1970), Clark (1959) and Madsen (1973). Perhaps the decision to enlist in the Navy presupposes a more positive view of the Mainstream than is generally found among lower class Hispanics as reported in the literature.

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Table 1: Factor Loadings Greater than .4 after Varimax Rotation with Kaiser Normalization of the Mainstream and Hispanic Factors

Scales	Stimulus: Black Americans						Stimulus: White Americans					
	As Seen by Mainstream			As Seen by Hispanics			As Seen by Mainstream			As Seen by Hispanics		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Uneducated	-.55				.45			-.40			-.58	
Educated	.50			.71			.57	.58		.61		
Family Oriented		.43		.51			.67				.45	
Friendly		.57		.59		-.51	.54		-.41		.46	
Unfriendly			.50			.74			.51			
Competitive				.44			.52		.48		.64	
Cooperative	.43	.56		.59			.41	.49			.71	
Dependent		.52		.43			.54				.52	
Independent								.46		.51		.63
Unambitious	-.45				.68			-.47	.42	-.50		
Ambitious	.50			.56			.48	.41		.47		
Lazy	-.59				.62			-.60				
Hardworking		.43		.60								.73
Ethical	.53								-.44	.60		
Unethical			.58		.47						.49	
	Good Citizens	Well Socialized	Anti-Social	Well Socialized	Backward	Unfriendly	Well Socialized	Go-getting	Calculating	Enlightened	Unethical While Friendly	Protestant Ethic







Table 2

## Statistically Significant Discrepancies on Traits Assigned by the Two Samples

<u>Stimulus Group</u>	<u>Traits</u>	<u>% Assigned by Anglos</u>	<u>% Assigned by Hispanics</u>	<u>P</u>
Puerto Ricans	Educated	39	61	.02
Mexican Americans	Uneducated	46	20	.03
	Friendly	55	74	.03
	Ambitious	49	73	.01
	Unfriendly	35	13	.05
	Unambitious	36	17	.02
	Ethical	53	70	.05
Cubans	Unfriendly	39	22	.05
Chicanos	Lazy	39	20	.03
	Hardworking	44	69	.03
White Americans	Independent	78	61	.04
	Hardworking	77	51	.05
	Ethical	77	51	.05
	Family Oriented	82	63	.02

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